EXHIBIT A

TENNESSEE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SENATE BILL 0003



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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY - TENNESSEE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
VIDEO RECORDINGS
of
Public Chapter No. 2 House Bill No. 3
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1 2 IN THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE TENNESSEE GENERAL ASSEMBLY 3 4 January 31, 2023 5 6 (WHEREUPON, On the above date, there 7 came up for consideration in the Senate Judiciary 8 Committee of the Tennessee General Assembly, Senate 9 Bill 0003, sponsored by Senator Johnson and others. 10 Discussion pertaining to this bill was as follows): 11 12 CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Leader 13 Johnson, you're up and you're first on the calendar. 14 SENATOR JOHNSON: Thank you, 15 Mr. Chairman and Members. Good afternoon. good to be back with you. It's good to be your 16 17 first bill of the year. Senate Bill 0003, I'm here 18 to present. There's an amendment that makes the 19 bill, Mr. Chairman. 2.0 If we could get a motion to get the 2.1 bill properly before us. 22 CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Senator 23 Stevens makes a motion on the bill. Senator Rose 24 seconds it. 25 Is there any discussion on getting the

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1
   bill in proper form?
 2
                UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Move the
 3
   amendment.
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Move the
 4
    amendment. I Have a second also from Rose. We need
5
    to vote on a bill being in front of us and then the
 6
 7
    amendment.
                So all in favor of the bill -- well,
8
    I'm sorry -- the amendment. All in favor of the
9
10
    amendment, which is drafting code 3058, say aye.
11
                          (Collectively) Aye.
                MEMBERS:
12
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Oppose,
13
   nays.
14
                MEMBERS: (Collectively) No audible
15
   response.
16
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Ayes
17
   have it. It's on the bill.
18
                Senator -- Leader Johnson, do you want
19
    to describe the amendment that makes the bill?
20
                SENATOR JOHNSON:
                                  Thank you,
21
   Mr. Chairman. I'd be glad to.
22
                Members, Senate Bill 0003 as amended
2.3
   would clarify current law by requiring that
2.4
    adult-oriented performances may only be held in
25
    age-restricted venues and may never be held in
```

1 public -- on public property. 2 Mr. Chairman, under current law, businesses that predominantly provide 3 adult-oriented entertainment must be licensed and 4 5 age restricted to prevent children from attending and being present when the adult-themed 6 7 entertainment is taking place. The bill that's before you now simply 8 clarifies that if this type of adult-oriented 9 10 entertainment occurs in locations that are not 11 required to be regulated under the current adult 12 entertainment law, because the adult entertainment 13 is not the predominant business, say for example, 14 if this entertainment is taking place in a 15 restaurant, then that business must ensure that the 16 location is age restricted and that children are 17 not allowed to view the performance. 18 I want to be very clear, Mr. Chairman 19 and Members, the bill only applies to performances that are considered harmful to minors. I'd like to 2.0 21 pause there for a moment, because this is not a 22 newly defined term. The term "harmful to minors" 23 currently exists in our obscenity statute. 2.4 in current law, and I'd would like to read from 25 that, if I could, very briefly, Mr. Chairman.

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In 39-17-901, under "definitions," 'harmful to minors' means that the quality of any description or representation, in whatever form, of nudity, sexual excitement, sexual conduct, excessive violence... abuse when the matter or performance would be found" -- this is an existing code -- "would be found by the average person applying contemporary community standards to appeal predominantly to the prurient interests or shameful or morbid interests of minors." Mr. Chairman, that language that I just read to you exists currently in our code, and it's in the obscenity statute. And, again, this cite is 14 39-17-901. The bill I'm presenting before you today simply says that that type of entertainment that is already defined in statute cannot take place on public property, nor can it take place in a private venue where children are present. Mr. Chairman, it doesn't ban that type of entertainment. It simply says it can't be done on public property, and if it's going to be done in a private venue, then you have to ensure that 2.4 children are not present. That's the bill. That's what the bill does, Mr. Chairman. This is a

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1
    commonsense safety bill for the children, and I'd
 2
    appreciate the committee's support.
 3
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Do any
 4
    committee members have any questions at this time?
 5
                I see none. I will say one thing and
6
   kind of digress just a minute.
 7
                I'm a little bit old-fashioned -- and
8
    if you'll hold your hands down, I think I can see
9
   people okay.
10
                I was brought up where men don't wear
11
   hats inside a building. Thank you.
12
                Also, we don't allow signs to be held
13
    up or distractions from the audience. Having said
14
    that, now, senators, do you have a question,
15
   please --
16
                Pardon me?
17
                SENATOR LAMAR: (Response off
18
   microphone.)
19
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Yes.
20
    ahead. Feel free. You got the floor.
21
                                Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
                SENATOR LAMAR:
22
                Hello, Leader. I wanted to ask a few
2.3
    questions for clarification. It sounded like based
2.4
    on current law we already have a very clear
25
   definition of obscenity. Is this really creating a
```

1 new definition? And also, who would this bill 2 punish? Would it punish the business or would it 3 punish the performer? 4 SENATOR JOHNSON: I will answer your 5 second question first, Senator, and thank you for the question. The criminal penalty -- which I'm 6 7 glad you brought that up because I should have read that into the record. 8 There is a first offense violation 9 10 that's in the bill before you now and it would be 11 applied to the performer, the person who is 12 performing the adult-themed or the sexually graphic 13 entertainment. And the first offense would be a 14 Class A misdemeanor. The second or subsequent 15 offense would be a Class E felony. 16 And in terms of newly defined terms, 17 again, much of this is in existing code relative to 18 "adult cabaret entertainment" -- is the way it's 19 defined in existing code. We did the 2.0 cross-reference relative to the "harmful to 2.1 minors." And as I mentioned in 39-17-901, to make 22 sure that we were being consistent with what is 2.3 already defined in code as harmful to minors and 2.4 it's considered obscene. 25 CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Chairman

1 Lamar, do you have a follow-up question? Go ahead. 2 SENATOR LAMAR: Yes. Just two more 3 questions if you don't mind my indulgence, please, 4 if that's okay. My next question is can you -- it 5 sounds like -- I haven't heard of any examples of 6 7 this being an issue. Could you kind of talk about where this problem that we're trying to solve 8 9 derived from or any examples of issues that have 10 arisen to bring forth this bill? 11 SENATOR JOHNSON: Certainly. There have 12 been a number of instances over the last year, year 13 and a half, maybe two years where a video has 14 surfaced of performances or some type of 15 entertainment taking place in the presence of 16 children, perhaps on public property or maybe in a 17 private venue where children were present that I 18 think any reasonable person, upon watching some of that video, would say that's in violation of the 19 2.0 obscenity statute that we already have in current 2.1 code. 22 Perhaps you didn't receive the calls, 23 Senator, but I know I received hundreds of calls, 2.4 e-mails from outraged parents that this type of 25 performance was taking place in front of kids.

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That is what led me and the house sponsor to begin investigating this. We had some conversations with district attorneys, law enforcement relative to the existing statute and, in fact, identified something of a loophole. As I said in my opening comments, we have adult-themed establishments, venues where adult-themed entertainment takes place. They exist here in Nashville. They are in some of your larger cities, and they are very heavily regulated and they must be age restricted. They don't allow children in to witness this type of entertainment. But, in fact, there's a bit of a loophole in our law that would allow that type of entertainment to take place in public settings, and that's what we're trying to clarify. We're just simply trying to apply the same standards to this adult-themed sexually explicit entertainment that can take place in these heavily regulated establishments. the world would we allow that same type of entertainment to take place in a public park or in some other area where children are present? CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Chairman Lamar? SENATOR LAMAR: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1 Last question. It gives -- I feel like 2 the law is a little murky because when I think 3 about -- when I think about concerts, WWE 4 performances where people dress up in costumes, 5 they are pretty bare in their clothing. We take our kids to concerts, major artists who perform 6 7 where the dancers are wearing clothing that can be considered revealing. 8 How does this law differentiate from 9 10 those and how did -- you know, because I feel like, 11 based on what you're saying, it could apply to 12 everyday performances that we see all the time 13 where people are dressed. But it sounds like this 14 law is up to an individual's discretion on what 15 they consider appropriate and what they consider 16 not. 17 So how do we differentiate in this 18 particular law or how do we allow people who are 19 entertainers to continue to entertain, but some of 20 the things that they wear that we think is 21 perfectly appropriate as parents not fall in this 22 law? 2.3 CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Leader 2.4 Johnson? 25 SENATOR JOHNSON: Thank you,

1 Mr. Chairman. Well, I will refer you again to the 2 existing statute where the obscenity definitions 3 are found, 39-17-901 -- and I haven't read all of 4 5 it, but certainly anyone who is watching can go back and look at existing code. And specifically, 6 with the "harmful to minors" language that I 7 referenced earlier, which is what this bill is 8 9 dealing with, only when kids are present, "harmful 10 to minors" means that quality of any description or 11 representation of whatever form of nudity, sexual 12 excitement, sexual conduct, excessive violence, 13 abuse would be found by the average person applying 14 contemporary community standards to appeal 15 predominantly to the prurient, shameful, or morbid interest of minors. 16 17 Now, you mentioned several things, 18 Senator. You mentioned WWE. I've heard other 19 people refer to cheerleaders or bachelorette parties on Broadway. I think that this language is 20 21 pretty clear at what we're trying to get at, and it 22 is blatantly sexually explicit entertainment 23 simulating sex acts. Things that I think any 2.4 reasonable person as the statute defines here that

any reasonable person would look at and see and

25

1 deem that to be inappropriate. 2 Now, as with any law we pass up here, 3 Members, certainly, there will be prosecutorial 4 discretion, and I agree with Senator Lamar what might be considered to be offensive to one person 5 6 might not be offensive to another person. 7 certainly understand that. That's why we have DAs; 8 that's why we have law enforcement; that's why we 9 have people to make the appropriate decisions. 10 And in the event that one of these 11 instances led to a prosecution, then it would 12 ultimately go to a jury of their peers, which they 13 would then make that determination. So that's why 14 we cross-referenced the existing statute that has 15 been on the books for decades -- many, many 16 decades -- relative to obscenity. 17 CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): 18 Lamar, would you like to ask? 19 SENATOR LAMAR: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 20 CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): At this 21 time, we have two witnesses that's going to come up. 22 London Starbuck is going to come up and talk for the 2.3 bill. And then after that person comes up, David 2.4 Taylor is going to come up. Only one person at the 25 witness table. The rules were set last week on any

1 bills that come up, equal number of witnesses. 2 So, Landon Starbuck, where are you? 3 We're going to go out of session. 4 Please identify yourself, who you're 5 with if you're with anybody, turn the mic on, make sure -- and speak into the microphone. 6 7 WITNESS (Ms. Starbuck): I'm Landon I'm here today as an advocate for 8 Starbuck. children harmed by child sexualization and 9 10 I'm a mother of three and the founder exploitation. 11 of Freedom Forever, which combats all forms of child 12 exploitation. There's a pandemic of child sexual 13 abuse in America where the demand to sexually abuse 14 and exploit children has never been greater. 15 here today to educate on how early sexualization and 16 exposure to explicit adult content via adult 17 entertainment harms children. It grooms them into 18 accepting adult sexual behavior as normal, healthy, and even celebrated while it encourages them to 19 2.0 simulate and participate in high-risk sexual 2.1 behaviors. 22 When a child is sexualized, they don't 23 just lose their innocence and childhood, but the 2.4 sexual desensitization they experience renders them 25 more vulnerable to sexual predation as they are

1 groomed into accepting being sexualized. 2 Allowing and normalizing the sexualization of children empowers child predators 3 4 and increases the demand to exploit and sexually abuse children. Child sex trafficking surveyor, 5 leader, Dr. Jennisue Jessen shared the following 6 7 statement. "I learned from the ages of 4 to 17 8 that those who exposed children to sexually 9 explicit material do so with a very clear purpose 10 Through the sexually explicit images and 11 behavior I was forced to see or watch, sexual 12 contact was normalized. The sexual acts expected 13 of me were taught and shame-based secrets were 14 created that distanced me from those who might have 15 protected me. The graphic images seared into my 16 brain then became my reality when the perpetrators 17 acted on what they had shown me. My story is not 18 unique." 19 Dr. Jessen's lifelong experience and 2.0 expertise on preventing sexual abuse is counsel we 2.1 should heed. 22 This past year, I've been exposing this 23 new toxic trend of exposing children to adult 2.4 sexually charged entertainment. Many child 25 protective advocates have discovered a pattern with

1 these events popping up all over the state, all 2 over the country. The pervasive themes we documented include subjecting children to grown 3 4 adults stripping clothing off, rubbing their 5 genitalia, simulating sex positions, spreading their legs in front of children, making sexually 6 7 charged comments about their genitalia, grinding, 8 gyrating, spanking, and exposing their 9 undergarments while knowing their children are 10 present and watching. These things have occurred 11 while being called "family friendly" and marketed 12 as such. 13 We don't need a PhD to tell us that 14 children mimic the behaviors they are exposed to. 15 Any parent in this room can testify to that. So 16 when children are legally permitted to sit and 17 watch an adult strip off pieces of clothing and 18 simulate sexual behavior as an audience 19 thunderously claps and rewards the performer with a 2.0 monetary gift of dollar bills, what does that child 2.1 learn? 22 CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Thirty 2.3 seconds. 2.4 WITNESS (Ms. Starbuck): They learn that 25 sexuality is a vehicle for attention, affirmation,

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1
   and money. You can get paid to take off your
 2
    clothes and sexualizing yourself. People will love
   you for sexualizing yourself to please them.
 3
 4
   no wonder we have skyrocketing mental health crisis
    amongst our confused and vulnerable youth with more
5
    sexual exploitation crimes reported than ever
 6
 7
             The harm on children is calculable, not
    subjective. It's either right or wrong morally and
8
    is either tolerated or not tolerated by the law.
9
10
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE):
   you very much. We have limited witnesses to three
11
12
              That was described last year.
   minutes.
13
                Sir, if you raise your hand one more
14
    time you're going to be escorted out of this room.
15
                Any members have any questions?
16
                Chairman [sic] Lamar?
17
                SENATOR LAMAR: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
18
                So this bill is talking about public
19
   places but everything you've talked about --
20
    currently, the current law protects against this,
21
    so how is this bill going to help you even further?
22
                WITNESS (Ms. Starbuck): Well,
23
    unfortunately there's different subjective
2.4
    interpretations of the existing obscenity law and
25
    there is clarification needed to further protect
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1
    children because the risk to them has never been
 2
    greater.
 3
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Chairman
 4
   Lamar?
 5
                SENATOR LAMAR: Do you feel like parents
 6
   are not smart enough to protect their children?
 7
    AKA, if they wanted to take them to one of these
 8
    shows, do you think that they are not smart enough
9
    to know the difference between something that is
10
   appropriate or not appropriate? Are we trying to
11
   make decisions for parents with this bill?
12
    what you're saying?
13
                WITNESS (Ms. Starbuck): I think the
14
    responsibility is on parents when they see.
15
   moment they see an adult spreading their legs and
16
    rubbing their genitalia in front of their child,
17
    that's where their parental rights end and that's
18
    where a crime is committed.
19
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Senator
2.0
   Lamar?
21
                SENATOR LAMAR: Where are you seeing
22
    this going down?
2.3
                WITNESS (Ms. Starbuck): This has been
    all over the state documented. I've documented it.
2.4
25
    It's been in the mainstream media outlets. It's
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1
   been all across our country.
                SENATOR LAMAR: Where in Tennessee --
 2
 3
    can you give me a specific example --
                WITNESS (Ms. Starbuck): Boro Pride even
 4
5
   recently happened.
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Ma'am,
 6
 7
           Let the senator ask her question.
   ma'am.
8
                WITNESS (Ms. Starbuck): Oh, okay.
9
                SENATOR LAMAR: I was asking,
10
    specifically in Tennessee, can you give me a
11
    specific example of where and what was going on that
12
   you are saying these acts are going on?
13
                WITNESS (Ms. Starbuck): Yes.
                                                Boro
14
   Pride recently happened in Murfreesboro, Tennessee,
15
    where an adult performer was talking about their
16
    tits and rubbing their genitalia, grinding on the
17
    ground and spreading their legs in front of
18
               That was one of them.
    children.
19
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Chairman
2.0
   Lamar?
21
                SENATOR LAMAR: So at a private event,
22
    that's an event that someone has discretion to
23
   decide to go to. So why do you feel that it is your
2.4
    responsibility to stop individuals from exercising
25
    their freedom to go see a show they choose to go to?
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1
                WITNESS (Ms. Starbuck): Oh, it's not my
 2
   decision at all. It's the individual's decision.
 3
    But we have laws. We have current existing statutes
 4
    that have to be implemented and followed.
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Chairman
5
6
   Lamar?
 7
                                Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
                SENATOR LAMAR:
8
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE):
9
    it.
10
                Chairman Roberts?
11
                SENATOR ROBERTS:
                                  Thank you.
                                               I have a
12
    question for Landon, but I'm going to reference
13
    Senator Lamar, Tennessee Tech, August of this past
14
   year.
15
                So on Tennessee Tech's campus, a public
16
    university, there was a show that performed at -- I
17
   believe it was called the Backdoor Theater, and you
18
   had posted a. video of this and I guess what I
19
    wanted to do was to give you an opportunity, and I
20
    apologize if it's graphic, but children were giving
21
   money to the performers. And I'm wondering if you
22
    could just -- why are children giving money to a
2.3
   performer? What was the performer doing that the
2.4
    child was giving money to them for?
25
    ///
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1
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE):
 2
   Ms. Starbuck, you are recognized.
                WITNESS (Ms. Starbuck): Thank you.
 3
                I'm not sure the children are aware
 4
5
    what is going on; so this is the problem. They are
    seeing adults clap every time an article of
 6
 7
    clothing is removed, the adults are thunderously
8
    clapping. And so they are making associations
9
    seeing that when you take your clothes off, you're
10
    rewarded with money and people clap for you, and
11
    that is really -- that's the sexual, you know,
12
   harms that are being caused here by witnessing
13
    something, even if it's not necessary explicit in
14
    that particular moment. But continuing that
15
    behavior is sending that message to children and
16
    its normalizing that sexual exploitation.
17
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Chairman
18
   Roberts?
19
                SENATOR ROBERTS:
                                  Thank you.
20
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Anybody
21
    else have any questions for this witness?
22
                Seeing none. Thank you for your time.
2.3
                Now we have -- David Taylor is going to
2.4
   be up here.
25
                David, you have three minutes. We will
```

1 keep a clock and let you know. Introduce yourself 2 and tell us who you're with. 3 WITNESS (Mr. Taylor): Thank you, 4 Mr. Chairman. I'm David Taylor. I'm co-owner of four businesses in Nashville. They are welcoming to 5 6 everyone but cater predominantly to the LGBTQ+ 7 community. My businesses alone have contributed more than \$13 million to the state in the form of 8 9 sales and liquor taxes since we opened. And each 10 year more than 200 people made all or part of their 11 livings from our businesses, including 13 full-time 12 and more than 60 quest drag performers with a total 13 annual payroll of \$3 million. 14 We're just one of many such businesses 15 in the state. We're proud of ore performers. 16 Seven have been cast on the national television 17 show, RuPaul's Drag Race, with two placing in the 18 top three of their season. 19 Our shows are fun, lively, campy, 20 theatrical, clever, dramatic, enjoyous [sic], but 21 never of a prurient nature; and our performers are 22 certainly not adult cabaret performers. 2.3 We know this because we have a 2.4 Tennessee liquor license and are bound by the 25 Tennessee liquor laws. These laws are aggressively

1 enforced by the Alcoholic Beverage Commission and prohibit nudity as well as simulated sexual acts 2 3 and other lewd behaviors. In our more than 20 years in business, we have not received a citation 4 5 for one of our drag performers. In short, the Tennessee ABC has never viewed our performers as 6 7 cabaret or adult performers. With two decades of monitoring our 8 9 shows this operation -- in operations is proof. 10 Another business of ours offers a downtown bus tour hosted by drag performers, and it's frustrating to 11 12 us that a fully costumed drag queen seen through a 13 bus window lip-syncing Tina Turner might be charged 14 under this bill, especially since none of our 15 performers on this bus has ever shown any more skin 16 than a Titans cheerleader on a Sunday afternoon. 17 This bill places male and female 18 impersonation in the category of strippers, go-go 19 dancers, and exotic dancers, and that's the 2.0 problem. The last three, the dancers, are all 2.1 related to behavior. Impersonation is solely based 22 on the choice of clothing by a human being. 23 someone wears, their outfit, the costume, their

makeup, that defines a male or female impersonator,

and we're -- we're adding that to a list of

2.4

25

unacceptable behaviors that are longstanding. 1 2 And so what else might that include? 3 Is it the group of birthday girls in Memphis that 4 decide to dress like Elvis for a night and dance on 5 the public street or megastar Harry Styles when he 6 performs in Knoxville in a dress? Our theaters, 7 TPAC, when they perform "Hairspray", "Chicago", or 8 "Mrs. Doubtfire," could people be arrested and 9 charged for that? 10 If all impersonators are labeled adult 11 cabaret performers, how does that impact liquor 12 laws and my ability to operate the same as I have 13 for the past 20 years? In so many of our states, 14 hotels, and restaurants offer popular drag brunches 15 as tourist draws. 16 CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Thirty 17 seconds. 18 WITNESS (Mr. Taylor): They happen 19 every -- in every one of our major cities and there 2.0 are at least ten in Nashville alone. Are their 21 performers subject to arrest and fines, even if a 22 minor walks by and sees the performance of a Dolly 23 Parton impersonator doing "9 to 5." And I think 2.4 Dolly Parton even says she's a female impersonator. 25 So, you know, I'm not sure about that.

```
1
                So, you know, when Governor Lee talks
 2
   about a return to civility, which I certainly
   applaud, I believe in being civil and welcoming to
 3
 4
    all Tennesseans. But this legislation to me isn't
5
    about civility or protecting children. It's about
 6
    curtailing business and the free expression of our
 7
    citizens with a giant can of worms in my mind about
    interpretation and enforcement and so I ask that
8
9
   you oppose this bill.
10
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE):
11
        We allowed you to run over, but that's -- you
12
    weren't finished and I could tell you weren't.
13
                Do we have any questions from the
14
   panel?
15
                Seeing none, thank you for coming and
16
    thank you for your testimony.
17
                WITNESS (Mr. Taylor): Thank you.
18
    Appreciate your service.
19
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): We are
   now back in session.
2.0
21
                Is there any comments or questions to
    the sponsor of the bill?
22
2.3
                Oh, Senator Roberts -- chairman
2.4
   Roberts?
25
                SENATOR ROBERTS:
                                  Thank you,
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1
   Mr. Chairman. I have a question for the sponsor,
 2
   please.
 3
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE): Go
 4
    ahead.
 5
                SENATOR ROBERTS: In the previous
 6
    testimony, there was kind of a list of things
 7
    that -- that -- are these things that are going to
8
   be illegal under this bill? Because in my reeding
9
    of the bill as amended, I don't see that these
10
    things are illegal.
11
                Could you share your insight on that,
12
   please?
13
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE):
                                                 Thank
14
   you.
15
                Leader Johnson?
16
                SENATOR JOHNSON: Thank you,
17
   Mr. Chairman.
18
                No.
                     The gentleman who testified just
19
   most recently, it was a gross mischaracterization
2.0
    of the bill. And I would encourage anyone who is
21
    watching at home or here today to be aware of that.
22
    He mentioned several hypothetical examples of
23
    someone, a female dressed as Elvis or someone
2.4
    dressed as Dolly Parton. I don't know how I can be
25
   more clear, Mr. Chairman. This bill only deals
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1 with sexually explicit, sexually graphic 2 entertainment. 3 Another thing that was brought up by the most recent witness is relative to the 4 definition of adult cabaret. That definition 5 already exists. It's in statute 7-51-1401, "'adult 6 7 cabaret' means a cabaret that features topless 8 dancers, go-go dancers, exotic dancers, strippers, 9 male or female impersonators, or similar 10 entertainers." 11 That is language that has been on the 12 books for many, many decades. The legislation that 13 I'm bringing you today does nothing to change, to 14 add or subtract to that. The bill I'm bringing you 15 today simply says that if it's adult-themed 16 sexually explicit entertainment -- and I think 17 we've already talked about what that is, and we 18 certainly recognize and acknowledge that different 19 people may have different opinions of what is 2.0 inappropriate when it's performed in front of 2.1 minors. 22 But that's what we're referring to --23 to simply say that cannot take place in a public 2.4 area where there's a reasonable expectation where 25 if you take to your kids or your grandkids to a

```
1
   public park that they're not going to be confronted
 2
   with someone performing sex acts or simulating sex
   acts as a form of entertainment. I don't believe
 3
    that is unreasonable.
 4
 5
                Similarly, if that type of
 6
    entertainment is to take place in a private venue,
 7
   you simply have to check the IDs at the door and
   make sure there's no kids coming in.
 8
9
                That's all the bill does, Mr. Chairman.
10
    I appreciate the committee's support.
11
                CHAIRMAN (SENATOR GARDENHIRE):
12
   you.
13
                Chairman Roberts, any follow-up
14
    questions?
15
                Any other questions from the panel?
16
                Seeing none, are we ready to vote?
17
                Madam Secretary, call the roll.
18
                MADAM SECRETARY: Senator Kyle?
19
                SENATOR KYLE: (Response off
20
   microphone.)
21
                MADAM SECRETARY:
                                  Senator Lamar?
22
                SENATOR LAMAR: No.
2.3
                MADAM SECRETARY:
                                  Senator Lundberg.
                SENATOR LUNDBERG: Aye.
2.4
25
                MADAM SECRETARY: Chairman Roberts?
```

1	REPRESENTATIVE ROBERTS: Aye.
2	MADAM SECRETARY: Senator Rose?
3	SENATOR ROSE: Aye.
4	MADAM SECRETARY: Senator Stevens?
5	SENATOR STEVENS: Aye.
6	MADAM SECRETARY: Senator Taylor?
7	SENATOR TAYLOR: Aye.
8	MADAM SECRETARY: Senator White?
9	SENATOR WHITE: Aye.
10	MADAM SECRETARY: Senator Gardenhire?
11	SENATOR GARDENHIRE: Aye.
12	MADAM SECRETARY: Chairman, you've got
13	one "no" and seven "ayes."
14	THE COURT: Thank you, Madam Secretary.
15	The bill passes and goes to calendar.
16	SENATOR ROBERTS: Thank you, Mr.
17	Chairman, Members.
18	[END OF SESSION]
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	

1 2 IN THE SENATE FLOOR SESSION - 7th LEGISLATIVE DAY TENNESSEE GENERAL ASSEMBLY 3 4 February 6, 2023 5 6 (WHEREUPON, on the above date, there 7 came up for consideration in the Senate Floor 8 Session - 7th Legislative Day of the Tennessee 9 General Assembly, Senate Bill 0003, sponsored by 10 Senator Johnson and others. Discussion pertaining 11 to this bill was as follows): 12 13 MR. CLERK: Mr. Speaker, on the regular 14 calendar, Item Number 1, Senator Johnson on third 15 and final consideration. 16 CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Leader 17 Johnson, you are recognized. 18 SENATOR JOHNSON: Thank you, 19 Mr. Speaker. Members, what I would like to do on 2.0 this bill is momentarily I'm going to move it for 2.1 passage and defer to Chairman Gardenhire. There is an amendment that makes the bill and I'd like to get 22 23 that amendment properly before us. And then I have 24 been asked by a member to roll this until Thursday, 25 and I'm happy to honor that request because of our

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1
    limited time here on the floor. I expect there to
 2
   be a bit of discussion on this bill, and so I'm
 3
   happy to honor the request from my fellow member.
 4
                I move passage of Senate Bill 0003,
    third and final consideration.
5
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): That's a
 6
 7
   proper motion for passage on Senate Bill 0003. It's
8
   properly seconded.
                Senator Gardenhire?
9
10
                SENATOR GARDENHIRE:
                                     Thank you,
11
   Mr. Speaker. I move Amendment Number 1 for adoption
12
    and yield to the sponsor for an explanation.
13
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Senator
14
    Gardenhire moves Amendment Number 1. Seconded, by
15
    the sponsor.
16
                Leader Johnson, you're recognized.
17
                SENATOR JOHNSON:
                                  Thank you,
18
   Mr. Speaker. Now that we've got this in our proper
19
   position for consideration on Thursday, I ask that
20
    we roll it to Thursday next, please, sir.
21
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Without
22
    objection, Thursday next.
2.3
                       [END OF SESSION]
2.4
25
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1
      IN THE SENATE FLOOR SESSION - 8th LEGISLATIVE DAY
 2
                 TENNESSEE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
 3
                       February 9, 2023
 4
 5
                (WHEREUPON, On the above date, there
 6
 7
    came up for consideration in the Senate Floor
 8
    Session - 8th Legislative Day of the Tennessee
 9
    General Assembly, Senate Bill 0003, sponsored by
10
    Senator Johnson and others. Discussion pertaining
11
    to this bill was as follows):
12
13
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): You are
14
    recognized on Senate Bill 0003.
15
                SENATOR JOHNSON: Thank you, Mr.
16
    Speaker.
17
                Members, I move passage of Senate Bill
18
    0003 on third and final consideration for purposes
19
    of bringing up a judiciary committee amendment that
2.0
    makes the bill.
2.1
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): That's a
22
    proper motion. Properly amended.
23
                Mr. Clerk?
24
                MR. CLERK: Amendment Number 1 by Senate
25
    Judiciary Committee.
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1
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Chairman
 2
    Todd you're -- Garden- -- excuse me -- Chairman
 3
    Gardenhire, you are recognized.
 4
                SENATOR GARDENHIRE: Thank you,
5
   Mr. Speaker. Amendment 1 drafting code 3058 makes
 6
    the bill. I yield to the sponsor for explanation of
 7
    the amendment.
 8
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): That's a
9
   proper motion. Properly seconded by committee.
10
                Senator Johnson, you are recognized on
11
    the amendment.
12
                SENATOR JOHNSON:
                                  Thank you, Mr.
13
    Speaker. And, yes, the judiciary committee
14
    amendment does make the bill. As amended, Senate
15
    Bill 0003 would clear up confusion that exists in
16
    the law relative to adult-oriented performances and
17
    specified that they may only be held in
18
    age-restricted venues as is worded in current law
19
    and may not be held on publicly owned property.
                Under current law, Mr. Speaker,
2.0
21
   businesses that provide predominantly
22
    adult-oriented entertainment must be licensed and
2.3
   age restricted to prevent children from entering
2.4
    that venue.
25
                This bill would simply clarify that if
```

1 this type of adult-oriented entertainment occurs in 2 locations that are not required to be reregulated under the current adult entertainment law because 3 4 it is not the predominant business of that 5 establishment, let's say like a restaurant, for 6 example, that they have to make sure if that type 7 of explicit entertainment is taking place that the venue is age restricted so that it won't be made 8 available to children. 9 10 The bill only applies to performances 11 that appeal to a prurient interest, which are those 12 performances that are overtly sexual in nature. 13 This is a well-understood term in Tennessee 14 obscenity case law surrounding what it means to 15 appeal to a prurient interest. With this bill, Mr. 16 Speaker, only the entertainer who acts in violation 17 of this law would be subject to the criminal 18 penalty, not the business where the performance 19 took place. 20 And, Mr. Speaker, if I could, in the definition section of the bill -- there have been a 2.1 22 lot of accusations about -- that this bill will ban 23 this and this bill will ban that. I want to read 2.4 the cross-referenced section, which comes from 25 39-17-901. And in that chapter, which is basically

1 our obscenity chapter, there is a term "harmful to 2 minors." That has been in our code for many years -- "harmful to minors." 3 And here's the definition of "harmful 4 5 to minors." It means that "quality of any 6 description or representation, in whatever form, of 7 nudity, sexual excitement, sexual conduct, excess 8 violence, or sadomasochistic abuse, when the matter 9 or performance" -- and I want you to listen very 10 clearly to those three triggers that have to be 11 met. 12 "If that type of entertainment would be 13 found by the average person applying contemporary 14 community standards to appeal to a pre- -- or 15 appeal predominantly to the prurient interest, 16 shameful or harmful or morbid interest of minors, 17 or the second of those three prongs is patently 18 offensive to prevailing standards in the adult 19 community as a whole with respect to what is 2.0 suitable for minors." And the final trigger that 21 has to be met is "taken as a whole lacks serious 22 literary, artistic, political, or scientific values 23 for minors." 2.4 Now, Mr. Speaker and Members, I would 25 submit for your consideration that that's a pretty

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tight definition. And if something that meets that standard, the existing definition of what is harmful to a minor in current statute -- we're not rewriting that -- we are applying the definition, the term "harmful to minors" as it exists in our current obscenity statute, and we're saying that you can't do that in a public park. You can't do that in a restaurant where kids are present. And we all know, we've seen videos that have surfaced from here in Tennessee and places elsewhere in the country and watched them and were appalled and heard from hundreds, if not thousands, of our constituents wanting to know why in the world this type of overtly sexual entertainment could be taking place in a public area where kids are present.

And, frankly, we didn't have a good answer, because the law didn't address it. This bill fixes that and will make sure that that type of entertainment takes place in an age-restricted venue where it can take place now. And if it's going to take place somewhere else, it can't take place with this bill on any public property. And if you want to have that kind of entertainment in your private business, that's fine. You just can't

```
let kids in. I don't think that's terribly
1
 2
    unreasonable, Mr. Speaker.
 3
                I second the motion on the adoption of
    the amendment.
 4
 5
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Discussion?
                Senator Massey, you are recognized.
 6
 7
                SENATOR MASSEY: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
8
   And will the sponsor yield?
9
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): The sponsor
10
   yields.
11
                SENATOR MASSEY: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
12
                And, Leader, just to confirm, signing
13
    this would not prevent someone dressed up as
14
    Whitney Houston singing Whitney Houston songs with
15
    none of the sexual parameters involved, they
16
    would -- that would still be allowed?
17
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Leader
18
    Johnson?
19
                SENATOR JOHNSON:
                                  That is correct,
2.0
   Mr. Speaker. That is an accurate statement and,
21
    again, I will refer anyone who has a question about
    what it applies to and what it doesn't to go to
22
2.3
    39-17-901 and read the existing definition of what
2.4
    is harmful to a minor that has existed for many
25
   years.
```

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1
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Senator
 2
   Massey, you are recognized.
 3
                SENATOR MASSEY: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
 4
                And just another clarification because
5
    these are questions I've been asked, it wouldn't
 6
   prevent a high school drama club that was at a
 7
    girls-only school performing "Newsies," the play
    "Newsies," where it's all young boy newspaper
 8
9
    sellers, it wouldn't prevent them from dressing up
10
    as guys and performing that play?
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Leader
11
12
    Johnson, you are recognized.
13
                SENATOR JOHNSON:
                                  Thank you,
14
   Mr. Speaker.
15
                That is absolutely correct.
16
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Senator
17
   Massey, you are recognized.
18
                SENATOR MASSEY: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
19
                And I think the key -- you know, a lot
2.0
    of the e-mails we've been getting talks about
21
    artistic expression and different things like that.
22
    But the key is is basically lewd, sexual acts that
23
   are not appropriate in open forum.
                                        They're not
2.4
    appropriate for young kids. And, you know, you got
25
    to be 18 to get a tattoo. I mean it's -- you know,
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1
    I mean, it -- but we want to, you know, have the
 2
    door open that they can go see overt nudity and
    sexual acts or the depiction of sexual acts, I'm
 3
 4
    sorry.
            That's not what Tennessee is about, and I
5
    am supporting the bill.
 6
                THE COURT: Senator Campbell, you are
 7
   recognized.
8
                SENATOR CAMPBELL:
                                   Thank you,
9
   Mr. Speaker. Would the sponsor please yield for a
10
   question?
11
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Sponsor
12
   yields.
13
                SENATOR CAMPBELL: Could the sponsor
14
   give us an example of how this law would be applied
15
    and enforced.
16
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Leader
17
    Johnson, you are recognized.
18
                SENATOR JOHNSON:
                                  Thank you,
   Mr. Speaker.
19
20
                It would be enforced like any other law
    that we have on the books, with law enforcement and
21
22
   prosecutors.
2.3
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Senator
2.4
    Campbell, you are recognized.
25
                SENATOR CAMPBELL: Thank you,
```

```
1
   Mr. Speaker.
 2
                So to the sponsor, I'm trying to
   understand exactly a scenario. Could the sponsor
 3
 4
   please take us through a scenario in which this law
5
    would be applied and then enforced.
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Leader
 6
 7
    Johnson, you are recognized.
8
                SENATOR JOHNSON: If someone -- thank
9
   you, Mr. Speaker.
10
                If someone violates the law and there
11
    is evidence presented to a prosecutor, the
12
   prosecutor can file criminal charges against the
13
   person who violated the law. Again, like every
14
    other criminal law we have on the books.
15
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Senator
16
    Campbell, you are recognized.
17
                SENATOR CAMPBELL:
                                   So thank you,
18
   Mr. Speaker. I was hoping for an actual example,
19
   because it's a little perplexing, you know.
20
                Unless I'm mistaken, this is the
21
    federal standard for obscenity, and I think the
22
    sponsor just described this as being already the
23
    federal standard for obscenity, which would already
2.4
   be enforceable and for it to apply to a drag show
25
    or to other situations. The drag show component of
```

1 this is irrelevant and it's never been found to be 2 obscene under the same standards as applied at the federal level. 3 If I murdered someone, I broke the law. 4 If new state-level legislation says that I've 5 broken the law if I murder somebody while I'm 7 wearing a dress, then it's inefficient at best. Drag is a form of creative expression 8 9 like any other dance, fashion, music. The 10 essential elements of a drag performance are all 11 protected by the First Amendment. And laws such as 12 this are inherently applied according to standards 13 within a particular community at a particular time, 14 and they could easily have been applied to swimsuit 15 attire; in the 1920's, if it was anything less than 16 a full body suit or a dress that revealed women's 17 ankles. 18 You know, my husband wore a kilt to our 19 wedding -- because we're Campbells, right -- and 2.0 was he wearing a skirt and would that be considered 2.1 cross-dressing and when we kissed at the end of the 22 ceremony in front of all of the children who were 2.3 present, were we arguably violating this law? 2.4 This just highlights the absurdity of 25 attempting to police people's thoughts. As a

6

matter of fact, this is the beginning of the same policies women in Iran are risking their lives to oppose by being forced to wear a burqa.

2.1

2.3

2.4

Look, I saw the videos. I saw the videos that led to this effort and I understand why people are alarmed. I really do. But, again, apparent and obscene behavior is already covered under federal law. I'm sure that most of us also saw the self-proclaimed Nazis who were protesting drag shows. Is that who we want to align ourselves with? That's the wrong side of history. Lord, at least I hope it's the wrong side of history.

These are the strings of fascism.

Leveraging fear of others may be politically advantageous, but it's the antithesis of good governance, and I know we all know this deep in our hearts because it's in the stories that we tell each other. It's in "To Kill a Mocking Bird," and "Schindler's List," and even "Star Wars."

We know we should do onto others as we would have done onto us. Our LGBT+ community are rightful citizens and beloved friends and family members and the horrible attacks that we wage upon this with this slate of hate legislation only hurts people. We were elected to solve problems, support

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our constituents, and we have serious issues to
1
 2
    address like health care, inflation, education,
    food deserts, litter, traffic. We won't, we can't,
 3
 4
    and we shouldn't take rights away from and cancel
5
    our own citizens just because they are different
 6
    from us in some way.
 7
                With deep -- truly deep respect for the
8
    sponsor, Mr. Speaker, I will be voting against
9
    this.
10
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Senator
11
   Akbari, you are recognized.
12
                SENATOR AKBARI:
                                 Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
13
                And I just need some clarification.
                                                      Ι
14
   had a constituent reach out to me.
                                         She is a
15
   performer at an establishment in my district.
                                                   They
16
    do a brunch every week, they do a bingo brunch,
17
    families bring their children there and the
18
    brunch -- it's a drag brunch.
                So to the sponsor of this legislation,
19
20
    would that impact their ability to have those types
2.1
    of events?
22
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Leader
23
   Johnson, you are recognized.
2.4
                SENATOR JOHNSON:
                                  Thank you,
25
   Mr. Speaker.
```

Members, I'm going to read this again because we could be here all day coming up with hypothetical scenarios and asking me does it apply to this or does it apply to that.

2.0

2.1

2.4

To my friend from Shelby County, the person who contacted you asking about whether it would apply to them and your question, I would say are they doing something that is defined in our statute as harmful to a minor? Are they doing something that involves "nudity, sexual excitement, sexual conduct, excess violence, or sadomasochistic abuse, whether -- when the matter or the performance would be found by the average person applying contemporary community standards to appeal predominantly to the prurient, shameful, or morbid interest of minors?" That's first prong. I could read the other two.

So for everyone else that's wanting to stand up and talk about kissing their husband at their wedding wearing a kilt, again, I'm going to refer you back to what I said in the opening stand, and I'm prepared to be here all day, Mr. Speaker, and answer questions about does it apply to this or does it apply to that? But every single time you ask me that, I'm going to refer you back to what I

```
1
   read originally, the definition of what is harmful
 2
    to a minor.
 3
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally):
                                             Senator
   Akbari, you're recognized.
 4
 5
                                 Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
                SENATOR AKBARI:
   And I have read the statute and the existing statute
6
 7
    that defines obscenity within our state.
   asking specific questions because of concerns from
 8
9
   my constituents and we want to really ascertain the
10
    legislative intent, because we all know that there
11
    are certain things in statute, but there's also --
12
    if there ever is any sort of review of the
13
    legislation, it's important to have more than just
14
    the statute as a part of that intent.
15
                My next question, Mr. Speaker, with
16
   your indulgence, has to do -- and I'm going to be
17
    specific -- because I want a specific answer and
18
    not a statute -- has to do with those who have
19
   pride performances. I represent downtown Memphis.
2.0
    The pride parade is in my district every year and
21
    there are people who are dressed in drag attire.
22
                I want to know specifically if this
23
    would afringe [sic] those people who live in
    Tennessee and vote in Tennessee and pay taxes in
2.4
25
    Tennessee -- would it afringe their rights to be
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1
    able to participate in pride performances?
 2
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Leader
 3
   Johnson, you are recognized.
 4
                SENATOR JOHNSON:
                                  Thank you,
5
   Mr. Speaker.
                Members, if you get questions from any
 6
 7
    of your constituents about whether or not this is
8
   going to apply to an event that they wish to hold
9
    or some type of entertainment that they would like
10
    to present, I would encourage you to direct them to
    the obscenity statute, 39-17-901. And if they're
11
12
    going to be doing anything that is in that
13
    obscenity statute that has been defined in this
14
    state as harmful to a minor for many years, then
15
    not allowing children to be there.
16
                By the way, they can have the event.
17
    They can have any event they want to. But if it's
18
    going to meet that standard of harmful to a minor
19
    that's been in our code for many years, just don't
2.0
    let the kids there. It's that simple.
21
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally):
                                             Senator
22
   Akbari, you are recognized.
2.3
                SENATOR AKBARI: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
2.4
                Obscenity has been defined in our code
25
    for quite some time so it seems that people are
```

1 already protected from any sort of obscene acts 2 from taking place in public. This seems 3 specifically targeted, and I will be voting no. 4 And to my constituents that feel that 5 this legislation threatens who they are and who they seek to be, I hope that they know they have 6 7 folks fighting for them to preserve their expression and their freedom in this state. 8 9 CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Senator 10 Yarboro, you're recognized. 11 SENATOR YARBORO: Thank you, Mr. 12 Speaker. 13 And I rise somewhat in surprise that 14 the sponsor insists that this is just a simple 15 matter of directing people to these three lines in 16 our code as if that's some sort of simple 17 explanation of what's contemplated here. 18 That standard is a community-based 19 standard. There's 31 -- there will be 31 different versions of what this means, one for every judicial 2.0 2.1 district in the state. What's going to count as 22 sexual excitement is going to depend on what a jury 2.3 in one county or a different county thinks; so this 2.4 is not some simple thing. 25 And even that, he's -- the sponsor is

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correct that after a few tries and several constitutional litigations, we've ended up with sort of this constitutional -- this statutory regime and yet the language that he's citing, we used to talk about books and movies and items and the things that can actually be reviewed in courts. But like, we're not dealing with that, we're dealing with performances. In our code right now, and what this bill does, this legislation is going into Title 7-51 [sic], which is about adult-oriented establishments. Those are a few hundred places in 13 the whole state that are subject to super specific 14 licensing regulations, and rules. But then it's applying that standard effectively to the world anywhere in public or anywhere where any child could view, and not just views, like anywhere where a child could view a performance. So one out of four or five people is a child in Tennessee -basically everywhere. My neighbor's backyard is a place where a child can view. Like the park across the street, 23 obviously, a place where a child can view. 2.4 anywhere is going to fall under this. And so we're taken what is a -- what we all know is a really

specific set of institutional rules that our state has fallen short of adhering to in the past and we are applying them not to the specific set of adult materials and pornographic materials that are distributed across the state, not to specifically targeted adult-oriented establishments, but to the world.

2.0

2.3

2.4

We're letting the police sort of start looking for that type of activity in each and every performance and the sponsor, Mr. Speaker, he insists that this is not intended to go after all of these different hypotheticals, and I don't question that it is. I think we know what it's intended to go after. But there are lots of things that would fall under the definition of this.

There are lots of your counties where there is still a powderpuff football game where high school boys will wear cheerleader outfits and short skirts and, like, you think there's any possibility that a 16, 17-year-old boy has ever once made a sexually suggestive conduct while performing as a cheerleader in one of those? If you don't think so, you probably haven't met a 17-year-old boy.

You think about Carnicus at UT. I

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mean, it's easy to sort of say, yeah, we're not going after Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, but there are numerous performances that are much more bawdy, that involve, you know, performers going into a specific place, into things that are sexually suggestive and have questionable artistic value, but we usually don't police those with the power of the State. But that's what we're doing here. We're sending this off into the world. And, I mean, maybe that's not the intent but it's only the intent because we're telling people that's not the intent is. And what the sponsor says, that this was -- you know, isn't targeting a group, but the day this bill was filed, Mr. Speaker, my friend, the sponsor, cited that this was being filed in response to controversial drag shows across the state. That's what he said the day he filed it, Mr. Speaker. And I don't -- I agree with people's I understand. I'm a parent of small concerns. There is no way in the world that I want children. to see -- that I want to be somewhere where my children could be exposed to sexually explicit or improper or already obscene, vulgar conduct. But

1 that's already illegal. And so I'm not sure what this does 2 except go after what has been deemed controversial 3 4 drag shows and we know that there are nine other 5 states that are considering legislation that are about drag shows, and I just think that we are 6 7 going down a dangerous road here, folks. We're supposed to, at the baseline, believe in freedom 8 9 and that laws should be pretty narrowly tailored. 10 This law applies everywhere in our state and puts 11 citizens in a place to call on the police, to call 12 on prosecutors anytime they think somebody isn't 13 raising their kids right, anytime they think 14 there's a performance that they don't agree with, 15 and that is a dangerous road to walk down, 16 Mr. Speaker. 17 CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Senator 18 Kyle, you are recognized. 19 SENATOR KYLE: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. 20 And with all due respect to the 21 colleague who has brought this bill, I would ask 22 that he would yield for questions and 23 clarification. 2.4 CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): He yields. 25 SENATOR KYLE: I don't mean to aggravate

1 you or make you repeat a hundred times the law. 2 issue is twofold. With due respect, there's always unintended consequences. And if this should become 3 4 a lawsuit because the standards aren't defined -there's a difference -- for example -- if I was a 5 6 lawyer, I would be looking at sexual conduct as 7 Tyler Perry -- the famous icon Hollywood star, plays a role called Madea. And if he would come and play 8 9 that role for us here at the performing arts center 10 or the Memphis Orpheum and did a death drop, that 11 might be considered sexual where other ones of us 12 might consider it comedy. 13 Arkansas brought a case -- and this is 14 what I'm getting to -- and the reason they brought 15 that case under the First Amendment, selective 16 prosecution, even under the obscenity statute, what 17 is, what isn't; what behavior is not acceptable, 18 what class of people are not acceptable. You have different mindsets on selective prosecution. 19 And, Leader Johnson, people choose 2.0 21 Whether I agree with their career, careers. 22 whether I don't agree with their career, even with 2.3 my four children, they all have different jobs in 2.4 this nation, one is an engineer and I can't even

spell coding. It's -- whether I agree with her

25

1 taking that job or not, that is up to her. And if 2 we start criminalizing morality, behavior, then 3 we're in a quagmire; our attorney general, this 4 state, may spend millions of dollars on a lawsuit 5 because we've taken somebody's livelihood away. I 6 might not agree with their career choice, but we 7 can't take their careers away. We just don't go to those shows or have our children there. 8 9 Now, under this First Amendment issue, 10 are we -- are we criminalizing or trying to find 11 moral standards? 12 Thank you. And I appreciate your 13 I will look back again and reread patience. 14 obscenity. That is an open interpretation. And 15 please have patience with me. I'm just trying to 16 talk and vet this out. Thank you, sir. 17 CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Thank you, 18 Senator Kyle. Leader Johnson? 19 2.0 Do I have --Senator Oliver, you are recognized. 21 22 SENATOR OLIVER: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. 2.3 I've got numerous e-mails about this bill, and I am 2.4 just appalled that we are introducing legislation 25 before this body on the basis of it being "harmful

1 to minors." We have issues in our DCS that is 2 having harm -- doing harm to minors. 3 Just this May, there was a report that 4 came out that pastors in this state are sexually abusing children in the Southern Baptist 5 Convention. And the last time I checked, this body 6 7 did not have a resolution to condemn that sexual behavior, but we are using artistic expression 8 9 subjectively to say that drag shows are being 10 criminalized. And so I just find it appalling that 11 the leader cannot give us a scenario in which this 12 bill would be obscene to minors. 13 In my district, the TSU Sophisticated 14 Ladies are a dance group. They perform at football 15 They wear wigs. They put on extravagant games. 16 They wear costumes and they gyrate and makeup. 17 squat and dance with their hips, with their legs 18 open, and that is a form of dance and artistic 19 expression. So are you telling me, Mr. Leader, that 20 21 students who go to college to perform and get a 22 scholarship to dance, will they be criminalized in this bill as of form of obscene behavior? Because 2.3 we're bringing kids to a football game, will 2.4 25 parents be able to, now, not be allowed to bring

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1
    their kids into a football game because we're
 2
    criminalizing artistic expression?
 3
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Thank you,
 4
    Senator.
                Leader Johnson?
 5
                Senator Roberts, you're recognized.
 6
 7
                SENATOR ROBERTS:
                                  Thank you,
8
   Mr. Speaker. I really had no intention on speaking
    on this bill and I've just sat and listened to the
9
10
   various comments that have been made, and I just
11
    feel compelled to say something.
12
                There are a lot of distractions from
13
    the real issue here. I'm hearing things like hate
14
    legislation, talking about canceling the LGBTQIA+
15
    community, you know, costing people their careers.
16
    Tyler Perry, "Star Wars," I mean, these are all
17
    distractions from the real issue.
18
                The issue is simply this. Each one of
19
   us saw videos, or at least I hope we did. We saw
2.0
    videos of performances of at Tennessee Tech
21
    University, Murfreesboro, Nashville, places across
22
    the state where entertainers or performers
23
    simulated anal sex, oral sex, other graphic
2.4
    activities with children sitting a few feet away
25
    from them. If you're in favor of that, then go
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right ahead, vote against this bill. But I thought we were about protecting children and protecting children against people and -- you know what, if a man showed up and exposed himself to your child, you would absolutely hope that the sheriff would arrest that person and the DA would prosecute that person.

2.1

2.4

It's just unbelievable to me that we sat here and saw videos of people simulating sex acts in front of children and no one was arrested and no one was prosecuted and the word came back to us that the law was not clear enough, it wasn't specific enough, it wasn't strong enough that a prosecutor felt like they could get in front of a judge and get a conviction.

And so what we did is what we do all the time. We took a look at TCA and we said, you know what, we need to strengthen that law because in the state of Tennessee, we don't think it's appropriate for grown men to perform in front of children simulated sex acts. That's what this is about.

It's not about Tyler Perry dressing up as a woman and performing at TPAC. It's not about canceling anybody. It's not even about telling

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drag performers that they can't perform. simply saying you cannot simulate sex acts in front of a child. And, again, because prosecutors came to us and said they didn't think the law was strong enough to be able to do that, that's what this bill is about. And for somebody to make it an attack on a certain group of people is not what it's about. If you saw the video, I'm sure you were outraged. And you know what, no, I would not take my children there. But furthermore, I don't want other people's children being exposed to that too. We do stuff all the time that protects children. Why suddenly are we having an argument about whether or not this bill is the right thing? protects children. I appreciate the sponsor bringing the I'm sorry that we sat here and had a discussion about it for 30 minutes. And, again, I hadn't planned on saying anything and I -everybody who has gotten up and spoken, I have the deepest respect for but I just want to ask you to focus on this issue. And I know you're getting pounded with e-mails from constituents who are trying to make it something that it's not, and I know you feel like you have to respond to those

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1
    constituents, but sometimes what we have to do is
 2
    tell our constituents this bill is not what you
    think it is. What we're trying to do is we're
 3
 4
    trying to protect children but a very small group
5
    of people in very isolated incidents that are
    simulating sex acts in front of children. And then
 6
 7
    to add insult to injury, to watch a child take a
   dollar bill and go put it, you know, in the
8
9
    G-string or whatever of that performer just was too
10
   much. And it's time that we say to our DAs, to our
11
    sheriffs, to our law enforcement that we're not
12
    going to tolerate this kind of activity.
13
    going to be illegal in Tennessee.
14
                Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
15
                Thank you, Senator Roberts.
16
                Senator Bailey, you're recognized.
17
                SENATOR BAILEY: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
18
    I call the question.
19
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): The
2.0
    question has been called.
21
                I did have someone else in line.
22
                Will you yield on that?
2.3
                So the question has been called on
    Senate Bill 0003. We're on the amendment.
2.4
25
                All in favor of the amendment will vote
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1
    "aye" when the bell rings; all opposed vote "no."
 2
                We do a voice vote. Let's do a voice
 3
    vote on that.
 4
                All in favor of the amendment say
    "aye."
 5
                          (Collectively) Aye.
 6
                MEMBERS:
 7
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Opposed?
 8
                MEMBERS:
                          (Collectively) Nay.
 9
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): The ayes
10
    carry.
11
                The ayes carry.
12
                We are on the bill as amended, Senate
13
    Bill 0003.
14
                Any additional discussion?
15
                The vote has been called.
16
                Senator -- I will let Leader Johnson
17
    close.
18
                SENATOR JOHNSON: Thank you, Mr. Speaker
19
    and Members. I appreciate the discussion.
                In closing, I do want to echo something
20
21
    that my friend from Robertson County said.
22
    was a lot of mischaracterization of this bill
2.3
    coming from the opponents of it. And I don't know
2.4
    if that is intentional because you want to
25
    misrepresent the bill and make it look like we're
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1
    trying to attack a certain segment of our
 2
   population when we're not or if you didn't read the
           It's one of those two, because if you read
 3
    the bill and you understand the bill, then a lot of
 4
    the comments that were made were clearly
5
   mischaracterizing, misrepresenting the bill.
 6
 7
                That's why I was very intentional in my
8
   opening remarks, Mr. Speaker. This bill only
9
    applies to something that would be found by the
10
    average person applying contemporary, community
11
    standards to appeal predominantly to the prurient,
12
    shameful, or morbid interest of minors, and -- not
13
    or -- and is patently offensive to prevailing
14
    standards in the adult community as a whole with
15
    respect to what is suitable for minors and -- not
16
    or -- and takes as -- takes as whole -- or rather
17
    taken as whole, like serious literary, artistic,
18
   political, or scientific values for minors.
19
                That's what the bill applies to and I
20
    appreciate your support.
21
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): We are on
22
    the board.
23
                All of those in favor will vote "aye"
2.4
    when the bill rings. Those opposed, vote "no."
25
                Mr. Clerk?
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1
                Has every member voted? Does any
 2
    member wish to change their vote?
 3
                MR. CLERK: Ayes, 26; six nays.
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Senate Bill
 4
 5
    0003, having received the constitutional majority,
 6
    is adopted. Without objection, the motion to
 7
    reconsider goes to table.
 8
                        [END OF SESSION]
 9
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21
22
23
2.4
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1 2 IN THE HOUSE FLOOR SESSION - 9th LEGISLATIVE DAY TENNESSEE GENERAL ASSEMBLY 3 February 23, 2023 4 5 (WHEREUPON, On the above date, there 6 7 came up for consideration in the House Floor Session 8 - 9th Legislative Day of the Tennessee General 9 Assembly, Senate Bill 0003, sponsored by 10 Representative Todd and others. Discussion 11 pertaining to this bill was as follows): 12 13 MR. CLERK: House Bill 0009 by Chairman 14 Todd and others relative to adult-oriented 15 performances, Mr. Speaker, the senate bill is on the 16 desk. 17 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd, 18 you are recognized. 19 REPRESENTATIVE TODD: Thank you, Mr. 2.0 Speaker. I move to substitute and conform to Senate 2.1 Bill 0003. 22 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd 23 moves to substitute and conform Senate Bill 0003. 24 Properly seconded. 25 Without objection, so ordered.

1	Chairman Todd?
2	REPRESENTATIVE TODD: Thank you,
3	Mr. Speaker. I move passage of Senate Bill 0003 on
4	third and final consideration.
5	CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd
6	moves passage on Senate Bill 0003 on third and final
7	consideration.
8	Properly seconded.
9	Mr. Clerk, call the first amendment.
10	MR. CLERK: House Criminal Justice
11	Committee Number 1.
12	CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Hulsey,
13	you are recognized.
14	REPRESENTATIVE HULSEY: Thank you,
15	Mr. Speaker.
16	This amendment rewrites the bill and I
17	move adoption to House of Criminal Justice
18	Committee, Amendment Number 1, and defer to the
19	sponsor for further explanation.
20	CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Hulsey
21	moves adoption to House Amendment Number 1.
22	Properly seconded.
23	Any discussion on the amendment?
24	All those in favor of adoption of House
25	Amendment Number 1 say "aye."

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1
                Aye.
 2
                All those opposed, say no.
 3
                The ayes have it.
 4
                Next amendment, Mr. Clerk.
 5
                MR. CLERK: Mr. Speaker, no further
 6
   amendments.
 7
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Hulsey,
8
   you are recognized.
9
                Oh, I'm sorry. Chairman Todd, you are
   recognized.
10
11
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD:
                                       Thank you, Mr.
12
    Speaker.
13
                As we stated, Amendment 1 makes the
14
   bill.
          As amended, Senate Bill 0003 clears up
15
    confusion in the law and clarifies that
16
    adult-oriented performances may only be held in
17
    age-restricted locations and may never be held on
18
   publicly owned property.
                Under current law, businesses that
19
20
   predominantly provide adult-oriented entertainment
2.1
   must be licensed and age restricted to prevent
22
    children from entrance.
                             This bill simply clarifies
23
    that if this type of adult-oriented entertainment
2.4
    occurs in locations that are not required to be
25
   regulated under the current law because the adult
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entertainment is not predominant to that business,
 1
 2
    like a restaurant, for example, then that business
   must ensure that the location is age restricted and
 3
 4
    children are not allowed to view the performance.
 5
                The bill only applies to performances
    that are considered harmful to minors under the
 6
 7
    State's obscenity laws, which are those
 8
   performances that are overtly sexual in nature and
9
    that appeal to a prurient interest.
                                          This is a
10
    well-understood term in Tennessee obscenity case
11
    law surrounding what it means to appeal to a
12
   prurient interest. This is a commonsense child
13
    safety bill, and I would appreciate your support.
14
                Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
15
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Do you renew
16
   your motion?
17
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD: I renew my motion.
18
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton):
                                         Thank you.
19
                Chairman Todd renews his motion.
2.0
                Any discussion on the bill?
21
                Representative Johnson of Knox?
22
                REPRESENTATIVE JOHNSON: Thank you,
2.3
   Mr. Speaker.
2.4
                So we already have obscenity laws on
25
    the books if you are being seen in front of
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1
    children, it is already illegal; correct?
 2
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd?
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD:
 3
                                     That is correct.
 4
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative
   Johnson?
5
                REPRESENTATIVE JOHNSON:
 6
                                          Thank you.
 7
                So if you're wearing lederhosen and
8
   being in -- obscene in front of children, you will
9
   be arrested; correct?
10
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd?
11
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD: The bill has
12
    several things laid out that require -- that are
13
    required before you would be arrested or be charged
14
    with a crime.
15
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative
16
   Johnson?
17
                REPRESENTATIVE JOHNSON: But weren't
18
    those things already illegal if you are being
19
    obscene in front of children?
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd?
2.0
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD: This bill
21
22
    clarifies that entertainment -- adult entertainment
2.3
    within an adult-oriented establishment, regardless
    of whether a fee is charged or accepted for
2.4
25
    entertainment, regardless of whether the
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1
    entertainment is provided by an employee, it also
 2
   provides that a performance of adult or simulated,
 3
    specified sexual activities, including removal of
 4
    articles of clothing or appearing unclothed, are
5
    illegal.
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative
 6
 7
   Johnson?
8
                REPRESENTATIVE JOHNSON: I'm thinking of
9
    a whole lot of performances where people remove
10
   articles of clothing. That doesn't make it a
11
    stripping situation, but you can remove a jacket.
12
    You can remove -- is that including this as well?
13
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd?
14
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD: Things that are
15
   not sexualized would not be included in this.
16
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative
17
    Johnson?
18
                REPRESENTATIVE JOHNSON: Can you define
19
    for me female impersonator?
20
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD: Mr. Speaker, that
21
    is something that she would have to refer to the law
22
    that we already have on the books for. I do not
23
   have that definition memorized.
2.4
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative
25
   Johnson?
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REPRESENTATIVE JOHNSON: Is there a definition in the law for a female impersonator? CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd? REPRESENTATIVE TODD: Mr. Speaker, as amended, Senate Bill 0003 clears up confusion in the law and clarifies that adult-oriented performances may only be held in age-restricted venues and may never be held on publicly owned property. Under the current law, business -businesses that predominantly provide adult-oriented entertainment must be licensed and age restricted to prevent children from entrance. This bill simply clarifies that this type of adult-oriented entertainment occurs in locations that are not required to be regulated under the current adult entertainment law because that entertainment is not predominant to the business, such as a restaurant or some other venue, then that business must ensure that the location is age restricted, that minors must not be present and children not be allowed to view the performance. The bill only applies to performances that are considered to be harmful to minors under the state's obscenity laws, which are those performances that are overtly sexual in nature and

```
1
    appeal to a prurient interest.
 2
                39-17-901 defines "harmful to minors"
    that "quality of any description or representation,
 3
    in whatever form, of nudity, sexual excitement,
 4
    sexual conduct, excess violence, sadomasochistic
5
    abuse when the matter or performance, (a) would be
 6
 7
    found by the average person applying contemporary
    community standards to appeal predominantly to the
 8
9
   prurient, shameful, or morbid interest of
10
   minors" --
11
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton):
                                         Representative
12
    Johnson, you are out of order. You can allow him to
13
    finish, but we will not take shouting from the House
14
    floor. Thank you very much.
15
                Chairman Todd, you can continue.
16
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD:
                                       Thank you, Mr.
17
    Speaker.
18
                "(b) is patently offensive to
19
   prevailing standards in the adult community as a
2.0
    whole with respect to what is suitable for minors;
21
    and, (C), taken as a whole lacks serious literary,
22
    artistic, political, or scientific value for
23
   minors."
2.4
                There are other definitions as well
25
    that deal with adult-oriented establishments, but I
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1
   hope that answers the question.
 2
                Mr. Speaker?
 3
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative
   Johnson.
 4
 5
                REPRESENTATIVE JOHNSON:
                                          Thank you.
                It doesn't answer the question,
 6
 7
    actually. Because what we're doing is this is
   going to have a chilling effect on things that
8
9
    aren't obscene performances because I haven't seen
10
    obscene drag performances, but that is the target
11
    and the thing we are targeting here.
12
                And so the reality is we are violating
13
   people's First Amendment rights. We're having a
14
    chilling effect on how different people do
15
   performances. We have drag queens being --
16
                (Microphone turned off.)
17
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Very well.
18
                Representative Harris, you are
19
   recognized.
20
                REPRESENTATIVE HARRIS: Thank you, Mr.
21
    Speaker.
22
                So for clarity, two things have to
23
   happen in order for someone to violate this
2.4
    legislation. That would be, one, a minor would
25
   have to be present; and, two, it would have to meet
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the definition of harmful to a minor. Absent of
1
 2
    those two parts, would that be the understanding of
    this legislation?
 3
 4
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd?
 5
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD:
                                       Thank you,
6
   Mr. Speaker.
 7
                This addresses adult cabaret
    entertainment and that means -- in the bill, it
8
    says "adult cabaret entertainment" means
9
10
    "adult-oriented performances that are harmful to
11
   minors" -- "as I just read the definition of -- as
12
    that term is defined in 901 and that features
13
    topless dancers, go-go dancers, exotic dancers,
14
    strippers, male or female impersonators or similar
15
    entertainers" and -- this is required -- "includes
16
    a single performance or multiple performances by an
17
    entertainer."
18
                "Entertainer" then is defined in the
19
   bill as meaning "a person who provides
    entertainment within an adult-oriented
2.0
21
    establishment regardless of whether if he is
22
    charged."
23
                I will skip over to the next section.
2.4
                "A performance of actual or simulated
25
    specified sexual activities" as I just read are
```

```
1
    included in that "entertainer" definition.
 2
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton):
                                        Representative
 3
   Harris?
                REPRESENTATIVE HARRIS:
 4
                                        For
    clarification, an adult entertainment --
5
   adult-cabaret entertainment by definition here is an
 6
 7
    adult-oriented performance? Many of our communities
 8
   host annual family-oriented LGBTQ pride events each
9
   year. So this would not apply to those since those
10
   are family-oriented; correct?
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd?
11
12
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD:
                                      Thank you, Mr.
13
            It's not my place to determine what is
    Speaker.
14
    going to apply here or not. The language is
15
    extremely clear, much more clear than I believe what
16
    we have in code at the moment. And, Mr. Speaker, I
17
    just believe this will make it much easier for the
18
   public to determine what is exactly appropriate for
19
    children and what is not appropriate for children
2.0
    and what can be performed in their presence or
21
    without their presence.
22
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative
23
   Harris?
2.4
                REPRESENTATIVE HARRIS: Who will be
25
   responsible for enforcing this law?
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1
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd?
 2
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD: Thank you,
 3
   Mr. Speaker. Responsible parties for enforcing laws
 4
    in this state has not changed by this bill.
5
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representatives
   Harris?
6
 7
                REPRESENTATIVE HARRIS: Who will be
8
   responsible for enforcing this law?
9
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd?
10
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD:
                                      Thank you,
11
   Mr. Speaker.
12
                The same folks that enforce the laws
13
    currently will be enforcing this law.
14
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative
15
   Harris?
16
                REPRESENTATIVE HARRIS: Have there been
17
    any instances where this has been -- where an adult
18
    cabaret in public has been harmful to you?
19
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd?
20
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD:
                                      Thank you,
21
   Mr. Speaker.
22
                This past year in my community we had a
2.3
    local group decide to do a quote "family-friendly
   pride" -- or a "family-friendly" drag show. And
2.4
25
    when they listed this as family-friendly, my
```

community rose up. We filed an injunction against this group, actually, against the City of Jackson because our city mayor was endorsing this and refusing to use local ordinances to prevent it that were very clearly set there to prevent this type of activity in front of children.

The end of that, after spending several

2.0

2.4

The end of that, after spending several thousand dollars of individual donations -- we had folks come from all over the community donating to this effort to stop this from being in front of our children. It was forced to be indoors and 18 and up only.

And I was asked to come up with legislation that would make this much more clear. It came down to a definition I found. A definition of the word "cabaret" that is not in current law. And when, as I understand from talking to our legal team, when you don't have something defined in law, then you go to the dictionary. So we went to the dictionary and the word "cabaret" can mean either a performance or it can mean a location.

So we've certainly felt like and my community felt like it was both -- it could be both. But we took that to court and got the injunction and got it moved to indoors and away

1 from kids and that's exactly what -- the way this 2 bill is structured. It doesn't prevent those 3 performances. It certainly says that they must not be held in front of minors and we intend to uphold 4 5 that and expect our law enforcement across our 6 great state to uphold that principle and uphold 7 what we pass here in this legislature. 8 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative 9 Harris? 10 REPRESENTATIVE HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. 11 Speaker. 12 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative 13 Hardaway? 14 REPRESENTATIVE HARDAWAY: Thank you, 15 Mr. Speaker. 16 I'll tell you one thing I learned is 17 not to ask a question until after I finish making 18 my statements. 19 The issue that hits me -- and I can't 20 see the sponsor. I wish I could; so he could see 21 me. There we go. 22 The issue that hits me is in Section 1 2.3 and it's because we -- we have language in there 2.4 that is specifically calling out male or female 25 impersonators. That's a problem for me.

1 sitting and making a couple of notes of male or 2 female impersonators who have been on TV regular for a decades, male or female impersonators who are 3 4 in the movies, the theaters, who are in the plays 5 that often come to public venues, and I came up with Martin Lawrence. I can't remember what the 6 7 name is of the individual -- Shanaynay. That's a That's now in the record. 8 first. Tyler Perry, Big Momma, number of 10 movies, family oriented, but at times there are 11 suggestive scenes or comments or movements in that 12 movie. Red Skelton -- now I was a little boy when 13 I was watching Red Skelton, for those who are 14 trying to date me. Flip Wilson. Geraldine. 15 From my understanding of the amended 16 bill, the amendment on House Bill Number 0009, all 17 of those would be forbidden and they would be 18 committing -- I think you moved it to a type A 19 misdemeanor. All of them would -- would be 2.0 breaking the law once this bill passes. 21 And I just don't understand why we had 22 to put language in that spoke to male or female 2.3 impersonators. It just doesn't make sense to me. 2.4 I've gotten in most of what I wanted to say so I 25 would be interested in hearing your response, sir.

9

1 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd? Thank you, Mr. 2 REPRESENTATIVE TODD: 3 Speaker. 4 I would clarify for the members that 5 the wording in that paragraph is copied out word-for-word out of the current law that we have 6 7 on the books. We haven't created any new language 8 in that paragraph, maybe by adding an "S" or 9 something; similar entertainers, maybe. But the 10 rest of that is copied straight out of the law. 11 As a matter of fact, this amendment 12 that we had that makes the bill, there was a -- in 13 the senate version, there was one phrase there that 14 was left out of what the current law has and so we 15 added that back in to make it, again, consistent 16 for what's been on the books for literally decades 17 that was passed long before this majority was in 18 place. 19 So that's been there. That was what we 2.0 dealt with this past summer in my community. 2.1 That's what folks went to when they looked up what 22 can be done about this type of performance in front 2.3 of our children and saw that and said, wait a 2.4 minute. How can we have such a thing in this 25 community in a public park when it clearly says

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1
    "male and female impersonators cannot be in those
    locations?" And so that's what started the whole
 2
 3
    discussion around the law and around this
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   particular advertised performance and what we could
   do about it.
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                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative
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 7
   Hardaway --
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                REPRESENTATIVE HARDAWAY:
                                           Thank you.
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                And I think you just told me that male
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   or female impersonators is in current law.
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    asking a question right now. I'm going to wait
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    until I get to the end of my time before I ask
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    another question. But I, myself, actually had a
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   bill that I took over from Curry Todd as a matter
15
    of fact that dealt with adult cabarets. I don't
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    remember seeing that language, and I still would
17
    say to you to hold out the "male or female"
18
    impersonators" in this listing of topless dancers
    and exotic dancers and strippers. I say that that
19
2.0
    unfairly puts them in the --
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                (Microphone turned off.)
22
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd?
2.3
                REPRESENTATIVE TODD:
                                      Thank you,
2.4
   Mr. Speaker.
25
                I renew my motion.
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CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): 1 Thank you. 2 Representative Freeman? 3 REPRESENTATIVE FREEMAN: Thank you, 4 Mr. Speaker. 5 I'm going to follow along some of the 6 lines of my colleagues. It troubles me that we are 7 including male and female impersonators in the same 8 light as a -- as a stripper. And, you know, there 9 are several organizations and restaurants here in 10 Nashville that do, you know, a Sunday drag brunch 11 that is not sexual in nature, that is normalizing 12 the transgender community, that is showing those 13 that come from your community and from all across 14 our state that they have a place in our state. 15 by somehow trying to -- not somehow -- but by 16 trying to outlaw their existence, we are further 17 traumatizing Tennesseans. 18 And I guess my question to you -- and I would ask for brevity. I don't know if I'm going 19 2.0 to get it. But my question to you is what is wrong 2.1 with a transgender person that we need to create a 22 law that makes it so they cannot be in public in 23 front of children? Why is it a problem for a child 2.4 to simply be in the presence of a transgender 25 person? And I would also challenge the fact that

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someone is impersonating a male or a female or if they are -- if they are transgender and/or in drag because I don't believe that they are impersonating. I believe that they -- they feel like that is who they are and why do we need to tell me who they can be? CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman REPRESENTATIVE TODD: Mr. Speaker, the language in this is very clear and it is literally copied out of the definitions that we already have. So this hang-up with male and female impersonators we've had on the books for decades. Previous legislatures passed that. This is just copied out of that and using that definition to expand on it and clarify, again, from based on my experience in our community and what we dealt with with that definition. So we wanted to make sure that it was very clear going forward what would be and would not be caught in this. And as I stated earlier, this actual -- the other entertainers that are mentioned here and then the words "similar entertainers defined as "entertainment within an adult-oriented establishment, and then we get into what's harmful to minors. We've added that as

1 clarity to this so that we don't catch folks that 2 are just expressing their First Amendment rights 3 walking down the street or something. So this is -- this is not going in the 4 5 direction, I don't believe, where you were thinking I think it actually is making it more clear 6 7 to everyone to be able to understand this. 8 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative 9 Freeman? 10 REPRESENTATIVE FREEMAN: Thank you. 11 And I appreciate the answer but, again, 12 I'm going to ask you a direct question. 13 So if somebody is having an all-age 14 drag brunch and there is no nudity, under this law, 15 is that required to be an 18-and-up establishment 16 if it's -- because you keep saying "an 17 adult-oriented establishment," and I'm not sure --18 I'm not sure I understand that term. 19 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd? 20 REPRESENTATIVE TODD: Thank you, Mr. 21 Speaker. 22 So as it lays out, it lays out what an 2.3 adult cabaret entertainment is in the first 2.4 paragraph, A. Then in the next section, 25 "entertainer" defines that and it's entertainment

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   within an adult-oriented establishment."
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   means "a performance of actual or simulated
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    specified sexual activities involving removing of
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    articles of clothing or appearing unclothed
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    regardless of whether a fee is charged or not, " and
    "it's harmful to minors."
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 7
                I mean, this fits into, again, what
   we've already had into our law -- in our law for
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9
    decades and just clarifies so that it's very clear
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    to performers and average citizens as to what is
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    allowed.
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                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative
13
   Freeman?
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                REPRESENTATIVE FREEMAN: Thank you for
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    that.
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                So I'm going to take that as a "yes"
17
    then that if you were just having a drag brunch at
18
    a restaurant here in Nashville that that would be
19
    allowed.
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                I just want to say one quick thing in
21
    six seconds. We're missing this. We need to be
22
    accepting of all Tennesseans, and I hope
23
    that every- --
2.4
                (Microphone turned off.)
25
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Let the journal
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1 reflect Leader Camper is excused. 2 Representative Jones, you are 3 recognized. REPRESENTATIVE JONES: 4 Thank you, 5 Mr. Speaker. I was going to rise today and talk 6 7 about how this bill is a solution in search of a problem, but I believe my colleagues on the other 8 9 side of the aisle already know that. This is about erasing a group of people. It is about 10 11 fearmongering. It's about waging a. cultural war. 12 It's about manufacturing a crisis to distract from 13 the failures of this majority to do the will of 14 everyday Tennesseans and many of you know that. 15 Because the truth be told, if we wanted 16 to address the issue of obscenity and what is 17 harmful to minors, my colleagues on the other side 18 of the aisle would not need a bill in the House of 19 Representatives. What they would need is a mirror. It is this majority that until last 20 21 year defended a member from Waynesboro who admitted 22 to being a child molester when he was a coach. Ιt 2.3 was my members on the other side of the aisle, my 2.4 colleague who defended a speaker, the former 25 speaker, despite his continuous acts of lewd and

1 inappropriate behavior, including with interns. 2 was my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who defended a president who talked about grabbing 3 4 women inappropriately with no shame. And so if we want to look --5 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative 6 7 Jones, if you'd like to stay on the bill, that would be great. If you go off the bill, then we will have 8 9 this little debate back and forth. So please stay 10 on the bill. Thank you. 11 Representative Jones? 12 REPRESENTATIVE JONES: Thank you, 13 Mr. Speaker. 14 This bill is about obscenity and things 15 that are harmful to children. That is what I am 16 staying on, Mr. Speaker. 17 If we want to look at what is seriously harmful to children, let's have a bill to ban 18 19 children from going to these bible camps where they 2.0 are being sexually assaulted with the Southern 21 Baptist Convention. Let's go after real threats to 22 our youth. Let's go after the predator behavior in 2.3 your own districts, clergy in your own congregations harming youth. Weekly we read about 2.4 25 this in the news, my colleagues.

1 My colleagues, I'm saying this to just 2 say let's be serious about what this is about. Let's be serious about what's at stake here. 3 4 want to quote a drag queen and LGBTQ activist and 5 an icon from the Stonewall uprising, Marsha P. 6 Johnson, who stated, "How many years does it take 7 for people to see that we're all brothers and 8 sisters and human beings in the human race?" You 9 may not agree with going to drag shows. 10 don't -- no one is forcing you to go, but don't try 11 to erase a whole identity of people because of 12 hatred and bigotry in your heart. 13 We are constitutionally sworn to take 14 an oath to vote against any legislation that is 15 injurious to the people. Attacks on freedom of 16 expression are injurious to the people. Violating 17 constitutional rights, injurious to the people. 18 Scapegoating and instigating violence against a 19 group of people, injurious to the people. 20 And so I urge my colleagues -- I know 21 your leadership has told you to vote on this bill 22 but vote according to what you know is right. 23 according to what your district knows is not an 2.4 issue. This is not no -- I've gotten multiple

calls about this bill from East Nashville to

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1 Antioch, across my district, hundreds of calls; not 2 one person supported this bill. Until this was 3 filed, no one even knew this was an issue until the 4 sponsor made it one. 5 And so, colleagues, I ask you to just 6 do something right. Be on the right side of 7 history. Let's be about the issues that are 8 serious to everyday Tennesseans who are suffering 9 from denied health care, poverty wages, poor public 10 education systems. Let's not make issues just to 11 win cheap political points. Let's not manufacture 12 crisis just so that we can give ourselves a 13 platform to distract Tennesseans from the failures 14 of this majority. 15 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative 16 Jones, you're off the bill. We're moving to the 17 next one. 18 Representative Clemmons, you're 19 recognized. 20 REPRESENTATIVE CLEMMONS: Thank you, Mr. 21 Speaker. Thank you, sponsor. 22 I appreciate my previous colleague's 23 sentiments about this and the targeting. You know, 2.4 often -- though we disagree with legislation, we 25 try to find the true intent and perhaps the love in

1 a piece of legislation, but I don't see any love in 2 this legislation. I see hate. And so in addition to that, my concern with this is the breadth of the 3 4 language, Mr. Sponsor. And the breadth of this language takes direct aim at the local economy of 5 It takes direct aim at the entertainers 6 7 It takes direct aim with those within my city. small businesses in my community. 8 And so the language of this bill --9 10 now, I don't know if you've ever attended a Beyoncé 11 concert. Something tells me you haven't. Or a 12 Harry Styles concert or a Lizzo concert or Madonna 13 concert -- your language prohibiting -- and the 14 breadth, the vaqueness in this bill would prohibit 15 those entertainers from performing in my city. 16 would prohibit Beyoncé, the Queen Bee herself who 17 is coming to Nashville this year, this bill would 18 allow me as a district attorney, by the plain 19 language of this bill, to arrest Beyoncé. Is that your intended goal here? 2.0 21 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd? 22 REPRESENTATIVE TODD: Thank you, Mr. 23 Speaker. 2.4 It is so interesting to me to hear the 25 opposition to this very simple common sense bill.

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   Most of you in this room know exactly what this
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   does. You know it's common sense. Anyone that
    would stand against a bill that is going to prevent
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   minors, children, from seeing obscene sexual
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    activity, I don't know how you claim to be
 6
   representing anyone. This is common sense.
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    is protecting children first and foremost. We
    can -- folks have made up things about this. They
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    dreamed up things about this. We've got, you know,
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   media weighing in on it from all over the world
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    without reading it, without really looking at what
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    it means. It does exactly what I said it does,
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    very plain and simple. And I would think an
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    attorney, of all people, would be able to read this
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    and certainly understand how simple it is.
16
                Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
17
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative
18
    Clemmons?
                Out of order.
19
20
                Representative Clemmons?
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                REPRESENTATIVE CLEMMONS:
                                          Thank you,
22
   Mr. Speaker.
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                You know, it's interesting. We can
    find common ground here. Nobody wants a minor in
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    an establishment with a stripper. There are laws
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prohibiting that. But your language here, as a lawyer, that features -- any entertainment that features a topless dancer -- you could have male topless dancers. I mean, I guess we're not going to swimming pools anymore if males aren't allowed to take their shirts off. So you got male topless dancers performing in a public venue and that may or may not have actual or simulated sexual activities remove -- or included the removal of articles of clothing, such as a t-shirt. I mean, you -- you could have a child -- I don't know if you've been to Ascend Amphitheater. You can watch performances from the street without entering that venue. So you could have a 16-year-old walking up the street looking in a concert -- Beyoncé, Harry Styles, Lizzo -- any -most any entertainer. And then you're going to allow a district attorney to go down there and arrest that entertainer. You are taking direct aim at Music City USA just because you subjectively may not agree with it. Now, we talk a lot in this body about protecting constitutional amendments. So if you want to have the plain language of the Second Amendment protected then you better want to have

1 the plain language of the First Amendment 2 protected, because you can have constitutionally 3 recognized exceptions but you cannot exclude 4 individual classes of people because you 5 subjectively disagree with them or hate them. is unconstitutional. Your language is vague and 6 7 it's overly broad. This will not stand up in court. You have wasted all of our time here today 8 9 by promoting this legislation. 10 I would ask that you at least make the 11 effort as an attorney to clean this up to bring it 12 within constitutional muster so you're not 13 attacking my local economy. 14 Thank you, Mr. Speaker. CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman Todd, 15 16 you're recognized. 17 REPRESENTATIVE TODD: Thank you, Mr. 18 Speaker. 19 I think the language is extremely clear. We've had multiple attorneys look over 2.0 2.1 They think it's extremely solid. I'm very this. 22 confident, very confident our Attorney General can 23 stand behind this and defend this without question. 2.4 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Representative 25 Zachary?

1 REPRESENTATIVE ZACHARY: Thank you,
2 Mr. Speaker.

2.4

Members, I had not planned on speaking on this bill but after hearing all of the comments I thought it was appropriate to provide some actual context.

So in Knox County we had a drag show, a family-friendly drag show that was set to be at the Tennessee Theatre. There was a Christmas drag show. Video surfaced of this show that showed stripping, simulating of sexual acts, and inappropriate touching.

And so because of that, the mayor and I engaged the facility. There were some compromises made but then some videos surfaced that showed exactly what went on in this drag show. And I'm extremely thankful for TBI Director Rausch, who is the former chief of police in Knox County, for engaging and actually bringing the promoter on, the promoter agreeing with the director's assessment, and then agreeing to scale down that show to make it appropriate for children, which is exactly why this bill is needed; to ensure that those acts don't continue in front of children because that same show two days or three days after Christmas

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was conducted in Florida without that same filter and those restrictions and now the state of Florida is investigating those because there was simulation of sexual acts, stripping and exposure, and inappropriate touching. And let's be really clear, really We as the legislature, we have the ability per our Constitution to deem what is inappropriate. And my guess is when we vote and put this on the board and when we vote on another bill that we put on the board these were all conversations that happened during the election cycle. And I need to remind this body and my colleagues we picked up two additional seats in the house and the governor, who's a Republican governor, increased his percentage. So we talked many times about a mandate from the voters. have a mandate from the voters. They agree with us in protecting children and that's exactly what this bill does. So I remind my colleagues when we vote here and we vote now and we're voting on this bill, it is about protecting children. Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Thank you, Representative Todd, for

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   your boldness in carrying this bill.
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                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Out of order.
 3
                Representative Bulso?
 4
                REPRESENTATIVE BULSO:
                                       Thank you, Mr.
5
    Speaker.
                I've heard three statements made this
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 7
   morning that I wish to comment on.
                                        The first is
    the statement on the bill. The second has to do
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   with the Constitution and the third has to do with
9
10
   hate.
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                First, it's the obligation of every
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   member of this body to read and understand the
13
   bills that come before it. When we look at Section
    1(a) of Senate Bill 0003, we see that adult cabaret
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15
    entertainment is defined to mean "adult-oriented
16
   performances that are harmful to minors" as that
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    term is defined in 39-17-901.
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                That provision has been ignored by
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    every question lodged this morning.
2.0
    actually look at 39-17-901, subsection 6, it
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    provides a definition as to what is harmful to
22
    minors, and it provides for three things.
2.3
                One, the conduct has to be prurient.
2.4
    It has to appeal to prurient sexual interests.
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   Number two, it has to be patently offensive. And
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1 then third, it can have no redeeming, scientific, 2 or artistic value. 3 Now, we didn't just make those terms 4 up. That's the three-part Miller test coming from 5 our U.S. Supreme Court in 1973 in Miller versus California. And when you look at Senate Bill 0003, 6 7 it defines adult cabaret entertainment to include conduct that is harmful to minors and -- it doesn't 8 9 say "or," it says "and" -- the conduct has to be 10 obscene as defined by the U.S. Supreme Court in 11 Miller versus California and it has to involve 12 topless dancers, go-go dancers and other things. 13 So this idea that somehow just 14 appearing in public as a male or if you're a female 15 or Flip Wilson impersonating Geraldine has nothing to do with this bill. Because to be unlawful, the 16 17 conduct, first, has to be obscene as defined by the 18 U.S. Supreme Court and through 39-17-901, codified 19 in Tennessee. And then second, it has to involve 20 topless dancing, go-go dancers, or other such 21 things. That's point number one on the bill. Look 22 at the bill, read the bill. 23 Point number two, the Constitution that 2.4 you just heard about. This bill is completely 25 constitutional. It is -- it reeks with

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    constitutionality under the First Amendment because
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    it incorporates the tests that our Supreme Court
   adopted in 1973.
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                The third point is hate. Let me say
    this about hate and this attitude of intolerance
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    that is taking over our country, this dictatorship
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    of relativism. This bill is not born in hate.
    This bill is born out of love to protect the
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    innocence of children, and I am proud to stand with
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   Representative Todd to support it.
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Out of order.
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12
                Representative Warner?
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                REPRESENTATIVE WARNER:
                                         Mr. Speaker, I
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    call for previous question.
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                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): The previous
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    question has been called.
17
                Any objection?
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                We will go on the board.
                                           That's fine.
19
    We're voting on previous question.
20
                All of those in favor, vote "aye" when
21
    the bell rings; opposed, "no."
22
                Has every member voted?
2.3
                Does any member wish to change their
2.4
    vote?
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                Mr. Clerk, please take the vote.
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                MR. CLERK: Ayes 74; 20 nays.
 2
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): The previous
 3
    questions prevails.
 4
                Let the journal reflect that
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    Representative Beck is excused.
 6
                We are voting.
 7
                All of those in favor of Senate Bill
    0003 as amended, vote "aye" when the bell rings.
 8
 9
    Those opposed, vote "no."
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                Has every member voted?
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                Does any member wish to change their
12
    vote?
13
                Mr. Clerk, please take the vote.
14
                MR. CLERK: Ayes 74; 19 nays.
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Senate Bill
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16
    0003, having received the constitutional majority, I
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    hereby declare it passed without objection.
18
                Motion to reconsider is tabled.
19
                Call up the next bill, Mr. Clerk.
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                (WHEREUPON, the Clerk called the next
21
    Senate Bill.)
                CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Oh, Chairman
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2.3
    Clemmons, you're recognized.
2.4
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                REPRESENTATIVE CLEMMONS:
                                           Thank you,
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1 Mr. Speaker. 2 The issue -- and I certainly understand 3 the members are -- and correct me if I'm wrong. 4 we not have a mechanism under the rules that we are 5 allowed to have someone recognized to correct a misstatement made by someone else on the House 6 7 floor if it is a blatant, intentional misrepresentation of the actual facts? 8 9 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Mr. Clerk? 10 MR. CLERK: Mr. Speaker, I believe what 11 the member may be referring to is if a member's 12 reputation has been called into question they would 13 have a right or if their name is called they would 14 have a right to respond. As far as to clear up any 15 sort of record, that's not the case. 16 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): Chairman 17 Clemmons? 18 REPRESENTATIVE CLEMMONS: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and I appreciate you entertaining the 19 2.0 question on this parliamentary issue. I do find it unfortunate that we are 21 22 unable that, if someone makes a blatant 2.3 misrepresentation or misstatement of fact, that we 2.4 do not have a mechanism whereby that could be 25 corrected for the public record. I certainly would

1 hate for this body to be tainted with blatant 2 misstatements in debate on an issue as important as the last bill. 3 4 And I'm not speaking with regard to different interpretations of the Constitution or 5 6 anything like that. I'm just -- simple facts about 7 where something took place and where it did not 8 take place. Those things matter for the record. 9 And so I'd just like for us to consider that in the 10 future if we're able, Mr. Speaker. 11 CHAIRMAN (Rep Sexton): We would have 12 been on this bill for two hours on the other side 13 misstating, according to what other people have 14 said; so it goes both ways. 15 But our policy is if you raise your 16 hand, you go on the list. If you'd like to clear 17 up someone's information, you have that right to go 18 on the list. If someone calls your name, as the 19 clerk says, then you're able to respond 2.0 immediately, or if they impugn someone's reputation 21 you have the right to immediately respond. Outside 22 of that, we are in the process that we are in. 2.3 [END OF SESSION] 2.4 25

1 2 IN THE SENATE FLOOR SESSION - 13th LEGISLATION DAY TENNESSEE GENERAL ASSEMBLY 3 March 2, 2023 4 5 6 (WHEREUPON, On the above date, there 7 came up for consideration in the Senate Floor 8 Session - 13th Legislation Day, Tennessee General 9 Assembly, Senate Bill 0003, sponsored by 10 Representative Todd and others. Discussion 11 pertaining to this bill was as follows): 12 13 MR. CLERK: Item Number 1, Senate Bill 14 0003 by Senator Johnson for consideration of House 15 Amendment Number 1. 16 CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Leader 17 Johnson? 18 Thank you, SENATOR JOHNSON: 19 Mr. Speaker. 2.0 The House amendment differs from the 2.1 version of this bill that we passed. It revises part of the definition of "entertainer" by 22 23 replacing "a provision of adult cabaret 24 entertainment" with a provision of "a performance 25 of an actual or simulated specified activities,

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    regardless of whether a fee is charged or accepted
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    for the performance and regardless of whether the
 3
    performance is provided by an employee or an
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    independent contractor."
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                I move to concur.
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Motion is
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 7
    to concur.
                Discussion?
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 9
                I see none.
10
                We'll be voting on a concurrence motion
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    on Senate Bill 0001. All of those in favor of
12
    concurrence will vote "aye" -- excuse me -- Senate
13
    Bill 0003.
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                All of those in favor of concurrence
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    with Amendment Number 1 will vote "aye" when the
16
    bell rings. Those opposed will vote "no."
17
                Let every member cast their vote when
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    the bill rings.
19
                Has every member voted?
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                Does any member wish to change their
21
    vote?
22
                Mr. Clerk, take the vote.
2.3
                MR. CLERK: Ayes 26; 6 nays.
2.4
                CHAIRMAN (Senator McNally): Senate Bill
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    0003, having conferred -- having conferred in
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Amendment Number 1 is adopted.
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                 Without objection, the motion to
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    reconsider is hereby tabled.
                      END OF TRANSCRIPTION
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